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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Robert Handloff, Mary Louise Harmon, Greta Holtz, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

Africa General

Benchenane, Mustapha. Les Coups d'Etat en Afrique (Coups d'Etat in Africa). Paris: Editions Publisud, 1983, 191 pp.

African countries, like those in the rest of the southern hemisphere, are attempting to build a state and a nation around the army. The army, the only organized power in many African countries, has been seen as the institution which could lead to political transformation and eventual stability. The author analyzes the political role of selected African armies in an attempt to understand the mechanism of the coup d'etat. On balance, military regimes have not been any more successful than the civilian governments they replaced.

Bloch, Jonathan. "Israel's New Openings in Africa." The Middle East, January 1985, pp. 37-39.

Israel is seeking to regain the position it enjoyed in black Africa during the 1960s. Since 1982 it has extended its influence by providing arms, intelligence and security assistance, and economic aid. As long as African leaders view relations with Israel as a way of finding favor with the United States and as long as they believe that the threat of establishing ties with Israel can be used to increase Arab aid, Israeli-African relations should continue to improve.

Grey, Robert D. "The Soviet Presence in Africa: an Analysis of Goals." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 3 (1984), pp. 511-27.

This article addresses the Soviet Union's major effort to penetrate Africa in the mid-1970s and asks whether there was a Soviet policy for the continent as a whole. The author refutes the assumptions that Soviet leaders have predetermined objectives in Africa, or that they target states for arms transfers. He demonstrates that attempts to determine the weight of various goals from patterns in Soviet weapons transfers will be unsuccessful because many African states would not consider acquiring weapons from the East no matter how attractive the offer. Rather, the Soviets can realistically provide arms only to those states which request them and/or which are ideologically and politically willing to have them supplied. However, the unwillingness of the United States to meet the needs of African states at crucial moments has been instrumental in the Soviets' maximizing goals, such as gaining potential access to bases, winning influential political friends, and spreading international socialism.

Laidi, Z. "Les Problemes de Consolidation de l'Influence Sovietique en Afrique (Problems in Consolidating Soviet Influence in Africa)." Politique Africaine, September 1981, pp. 82-90.

According to the author, the USSR's top priority today is the consolidation of its influence in black Africa. Four strategies to achieve this goal are identified: aid to political allies, involvement in the resolution of

conflicts, mobilization of diplomatic support, and sensitivity to economic expectations. In the future, economic responsibility will become an essential component of Soviet action in Africa. To date, the Soviets are hard-pressed to justify the weakness of their economic involvement in Africa, but increasingly they will have to confront the economic realities of the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Nation, R. Craig, and Kauppi, Mark V., eds. The Soviet Impact in Africa.  
Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984, 275 pp.

A compilation of eleven articles on Soviet activities in Africa, including an introduction by R. Craig Nation on the extent of the Soviet impact in Africa. Colin Legum discusses the Soviet Union's objectives and interests as well as those of African countries, and Nation analyzes Soviet motives and prospects. Christopher Coker discusses the role played by Eastern European countries, while Bernard von Plate focuses on East Germany's African policies. Seth Singleton analyzes Soviet behavior in southern Africa, and Joachim Krause outlines Soviet arms transfers. Other articles by Richard Remnek, Marina Ottaway, Keith Somerville, and Mark Kauppi include discussions of superpower competition in the Horn and the relationship between Zimbabwe and the Soviet Union.

Obasanjo, Olusegun. "Africa's Needs." Foreign Policy, no. 57 (Winter 1984-85), pp. 80-107.

In this critical essay on US nuclear and African policies, Obasanjo, Nigerian head of state from 1976 to 1979, lists as Africa's most serious problems the diversion of resources into armaments, negative economic growth, armed conflicts--usually heightened by superpower rivalry--and the denial of fundamental human rights. Africa, he claims, cannot attain its full political, economic, and social potential unless the American policy of gaining global military superiority--the repercussions of which weaken the social, economic, and political fabric of the world--changes. He concludes by stating that American presidents should make policies which will enhance the capability of Africans to cope with their own problems instead of getting involved in local conflicts and overreacting to their perception of Communist incursions.

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Africa's Nuclear Capability." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 2 (1984), pp. 19-43.

This article examines Africa's position on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT) in three sub-regions: Arab Africa, black Africa, and South Africa. In the 1960s, Africans expressed a desire to keep the continent a nuclear-free zone through the NNPT. But now this desire has yielded to the advantages of nuclear power made possible by abundant uranium reserves and oil wealth. The motivations behind the nuclear quest in each of the key regions and the effects on the continent as a whole are discussed.

Opoku, Agyeman. "Pan-Africanism versus Pan-Arabism." Middle East Review, vol. XVI, no. 4 (1984), pp. 5-24.

The author hypothesizes that the two ideological-political movements of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism are antithetical and ultimately cannot coexist on the African continent. An examination of Arab-African relations in the Sudan, Zanzibar, Mauritania, and within the Organization of African Unity reveals that relations between Arabs and Africans have been deplorably unbalanced to the disadvantage of the Africans. Islam is described as a source of negative Arab penetration of non-Arab societies. The imbalance in African-Arab relations is institutionalized in the Organization of African Unity, according to the author's analysis.

Welch, Claude E., Jr. "Soldier or Civilian? Political Transition in Tropical Africa." Paper presented at the symposium African States in Transition, Georgetown University, 22-23 February 1985, 14 pp.

Welch examines the soldier-civilian dichotomy in sub-Saharan Africa, using Nigeria as a case study, and concludes that military and civilian governments are not readily distinguishable, that transitions from one to the other can occur with minimal difficulty, and that levels of economic development are by and large extraneous in determining the type and nature of government transitions. Analytical problems arise only when a sharp line is drawn between that which Welch labels "professional" responsibilities of the military and the "political" responsibilities of civilians. In fact, so-called military regimes most often include civilians co-opted from earlier regimes, and so-called civilian governments most often include military officers together with civilians who depend on the armed forces for support. Ideally, shifts from military to civilian rule will take place (as in Egypt and Algeria) by the peaceful succession of military leaders who, over time, adopt the trappings of civilian politicians.

Welch, Claude E., Jr. "African Military and Political Development: Reflections on a Score of Years, and Several Score of Studies." Issue, vol. XII (1984), 41-44.

Welch traces historically the analytical treatment of the military as catalysts for political development in sub-Saharan Africa. From the hypothetical position as the vanguard in the process of political modernization in the early 1960s, the armed forces--especially after the coups of the mid-1960s--came to be seen as just one more political player with a role and stake in the political process. Accordingly, the heuristic civilian/military dichotomy has been replaced by models based on degrees of political involvement. While the intervention of a professionalized military through the mechanism of the bureaucratic-authoritarian state has fostered a higher level of political development in Latin America, such has not been the case in Africa where military and non-military regimes generally appear not to differ from one another.



Wiking, Staffan. Military Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983, 144 pp.

The purpose of this study is to compare military officers' justifications for their takeovers of political power with researchers' explanations of military coups in sub-Saharan Africa. Both the military and scholars agree on the importance of a major external power welcoming the coup for it to succeed. They also agree that politicians' failures in three areas tend to promote military takeovers: unconstitutional or unlawful behavior, economic failure, and inability to cope with political opposition or political disorder. Strain between civilian governments and armed forces (often caused by the establishment of alternative paramilitary organizations or excessive use of armed forces for police action) was also cited by scholars as promoting coups, although military leaders rarely used this as a justification for seizing power.

Yakemtchouk, Romain. "La Cooperation Militaire de l'Afrique Noire avec l'URSS et les Etats-Unis (Military Cooperation of Black Africa with the USSR and the United States)." Afrique Contemporaine, Oct/Nov/Dec 1983, pp. 3-22.

This is the second half of a study on African military cooperation with the superpowers. This portion provides a general comparison of American and Soviet policy and motivation in black Africa and traces the evolution of superpower involvement by region. The International Institute for Strategic Studies in London is the source for the comprehensive tables of military expenditures. The author concludes that competition between the superpowers for influence is the prime motivating force behind military aid. In his view, American military aid to countries in black Africa is gauged according to their strategic importance to the United States. A state like Zaire understands this link and manipulates it to its own advantage.

### Cameroon

Gordon, April Von Frank, and Gordon, Donald. "Government Policy and Urbanization in Cameroon." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 7 March 1985, 44 pp.

This paper describes problems of development in Cameroon. The authors assert that Cameroonian development policies--largely financed by foreign capital over which local government has little control--distort the national economy and, eventually, lead to political instability. They base their argument on the fact that African cities developed in response to the administrative needs of colonial bureaucracies and not as a result of the push-pull of industrialization and agricultural improvements that gave rise to cities in industrialized countries. The skewed pattern of development in Cameroon is reflected in wage and commodity prices that guarantee cheap labor and food; an educational system that ignores rural needs; investment in infrastructure that promotes rather than discourages urban migration; a rural population that is increasingly old and female; and an urban population that, in the glow of rising expectations, is confronted with

unemployment, poor living conditions, and inequality. Stated objectives notwithstanding, political elites in Yaounde and Douala profit from, and therefore perpetuate, the pattern. Without conscious intervention, unequal development will inevitably lead to profound divisions along class or ethnic lines and, subsequently, to economic and political chaos.

### Chad

"Le Probleme Tchadien: Rappel Historique (The Chadian Problem: a Historical Review." Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 9-14.

This short paper, the first of several on Chad in this issue of Politique Africaine, offers a brief historical background to the current internecine warfare in Chad. It argues that Chad's divisions are due only in part to the oft-cited cultural differences between the Sahelian Islamic peoples of the north, on the one hand, and the non-Muslims of the south, on the other. Far more important are the economic and political differences that first surfaced as a consequence of colonial policies which favored the south. Superimposed on the north-south conflict has been an equally pernicious factionalism that has plagued both north and south from 1973 to the present--Habre and Goukouni are, after all, both northerners. The paper concludes with the pessimistic view that, while the introduction of foreign (Libyan and French) troops froze military activity, this introduction has done little to promote meaningful rapprochement between warring factions or lessen the insecurities of the south.

Lanne, Bernard. "Le Sud, l'Etat, et la Revolution (The South, the State, and the Revolution)." Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 30-40.

The article examines the current conflict in Chad from the perspective of its southern region. According to Lanne, roots of the conflict lie in the unequal economic and political development that benefited the south at the expense of the north during the colonial era. Following the 1979 civil war and the accompanying attacks in the north against southern civil servants, thousands of these officials fled southward, where they in effect substituted a regional administration for the now non-existent state apparatus. Over the next 3 years factional conflicts again fragmented all major political alliances but at the same time created the conditions (especially in the south) for the emergence of leadership seeking compromise. Habre's return coupled with continued repression of southerners, however, truncated nascent efforts to repair the state. More recent attempts to reconcile the south, FROLINAT, and Habre have done little to assuage southern insecurities; and, according to Lanne, without the south there can be revolution but no state.

Otayek, R. "La Libye Face a la France au Tchad: Qui Perd Gagne? (Libya against France in Chad: He Who Loses Wins)?" Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 60-85.



The article explains Libyan intervention in the domestic politics of Chad as a response to Colonel Qadhafi's personal needs as well as his understanding of Libyan domestic and foreign policy objectives. Above all, according to Oyatek, Qadhafi seeks to be recognized as a player of note on the international scene. In the tradition of Nasserism, his intervention has become a first step in forging a regional, Afro-Arab bloc to supplant a virtually defunct pan-Arabism. The intervention and consequent civil war has also served to rally a wavering population beset by setbacks against Egypt and Algeria. Finally, having lost his bid to head the OAU and having subsequently been challenged by France, Qadhafi considers his Chad policies to be a major test of strength against a major power and the apotheosis of Libyan foreign policy.

### Ethiopia

Hiwet, Addis. "Analysing the Ethiopian Revolution." Review of African Political Economy, no. 30 (September 1984), pp. 32-47.

This article seeks to refute contentions by many on the "international Left" that there has not been a genuine revolution in Ethiopia. Much of the article consists of a critique of the analysis presented by Halliday and Molyneux in The Ethiopian Revolution. The author stresses that although the ruling Derg killed many leftists and destroyed the two Marxist organizations that existed at the time of the emperor's fall, the Derg's principal governing ideas, programs, and characteristics were borrowed from the Left. He maintains that a revolution has in fact taken place, since republicanism has irreversibly replaced monarchism. Hiwet describes the current regime as the "disavowed political child of the Left."

### Horn of Africa

Gencheng, Liang. "U.S. Policy Toward the Horn of Africa." Northeast African Studies, vol. 6, nos. 1-2 (1984), pp. 41-59.

Liang Gencheng, who is affiliated with the University of Peking, goes over well-covered ground in this analysis of US policy towards the Horn of Africa. He distinguishes four phases in US Horn policy since the fall of the Ethiopian emperor in 1974. He makes the point that both the Soviet Union and United States wish to gain influence in the region and that instability in the area benefits Soviet interests but is detrimental to US interests. The author foresees continuing US efforts to improve military power projection capabilities in the region.

Petras, James F., and Morris H. Morley. "The Ethiopian Military State and Soviet-US Involvement in the Horn of Africa." Review of African Political Economy, no. 30 (September 1984).

This article discusses Soviet and US involvement in the Horn of Africa in relation to Ethiopia and the Eritrean conflict. The authors contend that the Soviet-Ethiopian relationship is opportunistic and may not have an

enduring impact on Ethiopian society because the relations are almost exclusively state-to-state. In examining US relations, they conclude that although Reagan's stance is more aggressive than Carter's, the way is being left open for a rapprochement with Ethiopia.

Phillips, James A. Ethiopia's Kremlin Connection. Heritage Foundation: Washington, D.C., 1985, 11 pp.

This monograph explains the Horn's strategic importance and gives a chronological account of Soviet involvement in the region. In the short introduction and conclusion the author calls on the United States to strengthen its relations with Sudan, Somalia, and Kenya as well as with Ethiopian opposition movements because "U.S. influence in the Horn has waned dangerously." In his view, Soviet expansion in the area will spread inexorably if the United States does not take strong measures to check it. He recommends that the United States work with Ethiopian opposition groups until Ethiopia is weaned from Moscow. He also suggests that the United States take advantage of the famine crisis to persuade Ethiopia to abandon its Marxist economic policies.

#### Mauritius

Houbert, Jean. "Mauritius: Independence and Dependence." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 75-105.

Mauritius differs from the newly independent countries of Africa in that its economy, society, and polity were all entirely created by European colonization which formed the fabric of the whole society. Decolonization was merely a rearrangement of the internal balance of political power. The author presents a detailed analysis of the island's economic and political growth, and discusses how the British were viewed less negatively than the owners of the sugar industry--Indians and creoles--who dominated and exploited other Mauritians more thoroughly than the British. Independence was not the outcome of a national liberation struggle, but a slow process in which the British sought to perpetuate existing economic arrangements. The author concludes that Mauritius remains inevitably dependent on Europe, but within that dependence there has been significant developmental growth.

#### Mozambique

Munslow, Barry. "State Intervention in Agriculture: The Mozambican Experience." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 2 (June 1984), pp. 199-221.

The ineffectiveness of FRELIMO's agricultural policies in Mozambique had become increasingly apparent by the early 1980s. Although droughts and floods, a constant state of war, and the world recession could be blamed for some of the problems, shortcomings in planning and policy implementation were also factors in the poor agricultural performance. Beginning in 1982, the emphasis shifted from the state farm sector to

cooperatives and the family sector. This study discusses the history of FRELIMO's intervention in the agricultural sector and identifies the factors which motivated a change in strategy.

### Nigeria

Othman, Shehu "Classes, Crises, and Coup: The Demise of Shagari's Regime" African Affairs, vol. 83, no. 333 (October 1984), pp. 441-61.

This article maintains that class conflict was the cause of the coup that toppled the Shagari regime and rejects alternative explanations based on ethnic strife or rivalries within the armed forces. Properly viewing the state as a source of wealth as well as power, Othman asserts that commercial--as opposed to entrepreneurial--interests supporting Shagari appropriated policymaking positions within the administration to the supposed detriment of a smaller group of northern entrepreneurs, known as the "Kaduna Mafia." Shagari's removal follows from what is essentially intraparty conflict between the "Mafia" and other groups also represented in the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The link between the Kaduna Mafia and the military putschists is not made clear. While hardly a class analysis, the paper includes interesting material on Nigerian politics, particularly on the purported link between the Kaduna Mafia and such NPN rivals as the People's Redemption Party and Awolowo's Unity Party of Nigeria.

### South Africa

Coetzer, Piet. Awaiting Trial: Allan Hendrickse. Alberton, S.A. :Librarius Felicitas, 1984, 208 pp.

A short biography of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, this book chronicles the early experiences of this colored spokesman, particularly his detention without trial in 1976, which is dealt with in great detail. It gives substantial information on his family life and discusses his lack of bitterness after being personally affected by the laws of apartheid. The book is adulatory, and it is clear that Coetzer planned it as a boost for Hendrickse, his party, and the new constitutional dispensation.

Mandy, Nigel. A City Divided: Johannesburg and Soweto. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, 447 pp.

An account of the origins, development, and prospects of Johannesburg and Soweto. The author sees the white and black areas of South Africa's major urban nexus as unitary, although riven by deep political and socio-economic divides. The book is divided into five parts: history, racial issues, the parallel growth of Soweto, the concept of Greater Johannesburg, and methods of management. The author's observation that black-white polarization in the city is the product of the apartheid ideology which became legislated in group areas, influx control, and business restrictions is hardly

original, but his delineation of this process provides new detail on South Africa's urbanization.

State of War: Apartheid South Africa's Decade of Militarism. London: COSAWR, 1984.

This pamphlet, written and published by the Committee of South Africa War Resisters (COSAWR), is a study of the process of militarization and its effects. It addresses the links between army and police in South Africa and the merging of their functions, as well as the domestically manufactured weapons used by the regime. Also discussed are cooperation with other countries for the development of nuclear energy, and the potential for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The pamphlet describes the complex structures of white civil defense and gives an account of the brutality of the regime in the war in Namibia and against the Front Line States.

Welsh, David. "Constitutional Changes in South Africa." African Affairs, vol. 83, no. 331 (April 1984), pp. 147-62.

The recent constitutional changes in South Africa which allow for limited participation by Indians and coloreds in the legislative branch of government have been seen as a step to the evolutionary disintegration of apartheid and the beginning of the political participation of all racial groups. The author stresses that the new dispensation further entrenches white rule and is a form of redesigning racial separation to sever links between the African majority and Indian and colored minorities. The new constitution provides a formula whereby the colored and Indian communities are given political rights in such a way that white control is not jeopardized, and is even strengthened. The article gives an excellent historical background of the factors which precipitated the constitutional changes and provides insight into the thinking and political maneuvering of the dominant Afrikaner political leadership.

### Southern Africa

Gutteridge, William. "Military Developments in Africa," in Brassey's Defense Yearbook. London: Brassey's Publishers, 1984, pp. 105-22.

The author broadly outlines some of the recent military developments in southern Africa (specifically in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa). The greatest threat to the security of the entire African continent, according to the author, lies in the complexities of the relationship between South Africa and its immediate neighbors. Solutions to such complexities are not likely to be forthcoming in light of the emphasis placed by the current regime in South Africa on military rather than political or economic solutions to regional problems.

Pisano, Vittorfranco S. "Conflict in the Southern Africa Region: The Terrorist Component." Clandestine Tactics and Technology, vol. X, no. 8 (1984), pp. 1-6.

This short but detailed report discusses the actors and sources of tension in the southern African region. It gives a brief history of the creation of guerrilla organizations such as the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa, FRELIMO in Mozambique, and UNITA in Angola. The report presents a good synopsis of the types of terrorist acts used by the various groups and the impact such actions have had in maintaining tension in the region.

### Sudan

Mawson, Andre. "Southern Sudan: A Growing Conflict." The World Today, December 1984, pp. 520-27.

The author, an anthropologist, provides a useful, informative summary of the current internal conflict plaguing Sudan. He stresses the perceptions and reactions of the southern Sudanese to the policies of President Ja'faar Numeiri. These southerners feel that the major economic schemes--notably the Jonglei Canal and the petroleum exploration in South Kordofan--are projects designed to divest their region of its natural resources. The harshest southern response has been to Numeiri's policy of Islamization. Although Numeiri has reassured southerners that Islamic law will not be applied to them, they nevertheless harbor misgivings. Southerners view the drive towards Islamization as another manifestation of the north's insistence on domination, without regard to the religious identity and political needs of the south. Until the southern conflict is resolved, Sudan will remain in an internal crisis.

### Zaire

Callaghy, Thomas M. The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspective. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, 515 pp.

A study on attempted state formation and the state-society struggle in contemporary Zaire under the rule of Mobutu Sese Seko. The author contends that many of the problems faced by African rulers are similar to those present in Europe in the 16th through 18th centuries and in post-colonial Latin America. These problems include conflict over the location and distribution of political power and economic resources as well as the struggle between the emerging state structure and societal and external groups for power, sovereignty, and resources. He concludes that while Mobutu has achieved an absolutist state and established order out of chaos, he has not improved the lives of the Zairean people.